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754 K. did not give back the bone. D. looked for it in vain and soon he was unable to talk. He became very sick, was in awful condition, and died in a few days. Before he died, his wife had got sick and died. Before she died, something told her that her husband had witched her but that he would pay for it soon with his own life. The source that had given D. his power punished him. Maybe it didn't want him any more. A man always dies when he loses his objects of witchcraft.

The belief that a witch can accomplish his evil intentions by the power of the spoken word makes it very difficult for an accused person to defend himself adequately. One night while a man was sleeping there appeared before him first an old woman and an old man, both naked, then a young girl and a boy, also unclothed. They ordered him to put out his tongue, which they proposed to cross with pollen, and told him that thereafter anything he said should befall a person, "like wanting him to be killed, would happen that way." This man drove off his tempters, exclaiming, "Go away! Leave me alone! I'm a poor man. If it doesn't do good for my people, I don't want it." Concerning the lesson of this visitation, he added, "That's why a witch will say, 'All right, if I'm a witch, find it; take it out and I'll admit it.' You'd have to take his tongue out. You can't find it on him, but it's there."

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754 A witch may take advantage of any situation to carry out his purposes. "It causes confusion in the tribe, that witch business. If they were out in the wilds and cowboys or Mexicans killed some of their best men, someone might hold a ceremony and say a witch did it. Many times when a person got sick or died, someone was blamed."

So resourceful are witches that a constant guard against the unexpected must be maintained:

One time C. and I were going along the trail to church. A small bow and arrow were lying there right in the path. C. said, "Someone is witching the trail because we always go through here. If we step on this, something is going to happen to us." He got sticks and carefully carried those things away. Then we went on.

754 156 157 *Detection of witches; witchcraft and incest.*—Not infrequently a witch betrays himself by his virulent or aberrant behavior:

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A witch can be told by his language. If he makes a threat against another and it comes true, he may be suspected of being a witch. People who steal or habitually do mean things are witches.

Or his habits may be strange and may put him under suspicion. If you see a man on a high hill going through a strange ceremony, you can be sure he is a witch. A shaman would not go way out in the mountains and dance naked, as I have heard has been done. A shaman would perform his ceremony in the open and at home. Witches always go far out and do strange things. [756]

There are people who are queer. They are seen doing things that are not right in this life, as if I should get out here and pray to the sun when I shouldn't. It would look bad. Or if a man is seen carrying bones of animals and trying to hide them; it is things like that which cause a person to be suspected of being a witch.

Not long ago my wife got up very early to make a fire. It was before anyone else was up. There, by the little road which runs past our camp, she saw a man waving a handkerchief to the four directions. This was after this man's wife died. My wife asked me what I thought of this. I said I thought it was sorcery. It was a queer thing for a man to do.

Even if you are not a witch but do something peculiar, you will fall under suspicion. For instance, one day I was whistling and doing some steps of the masked dancer just for the amusement of my wife and child. My wife said, "You had better stop. Someone may see you and think you are a witch." I was not dressed properly for the dance, and there was no music. It would have looked bad if someone had seen me. The Chiricahua has to be very careful. When a person is accused of being a witch, there is always some reason for it in his actions.

. . . . In one case I heard of, a woman who took all her clothes off somewhere around here and ran up a hill with her buttocks toward the camps was known as a witch. Once a man was seen entirely naked handling his sexual organ and saying some prayer. This is peculiar, and the man fell under suspicion. He was suspected of going through a ceremony to give someone venereal disease.

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The possession of unusual amulets may also give rise to gossip:

They may have some beads or an arrowhead or something hidden under their clothes. Sometimes someone sees this. Then people are suspicious. Some may wear a little buckskin around the wrist or perhaps some little bones, or something like that, or maybe they have some hair. Some wear what they use openly and don't care if they are called witches.

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The manner of dress may reveal the witch. "We were warned when I was a boy that witches never wear good clothes. That's

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754 One characteristic often attributed to the sorcerer is sexual
• 157 aberrance. The stories of naked individuals displaying them-
834 selves come to mind in this connection. In the mythology, when
[839] Coyote is accused rightfully of having had intercourse with his
[602] mother-in-law, his rejoinder is, "That's witch talk." It will be remembered that one who neglects to hide from his avoidance relatives, or who is too familiar with the mate of a sibling or a cousin, runs the risk of being named a witch. Nor was it an accident that the tempters who offered a sorcerer's tongue were unclothed.

754 Incest is promptly equated with witchcraft. Of a person ac-
835 cused of marrying a close relative, an informant said, "In my opinion he must be a witch, and the tribe accuses him of that because he married a close relative. People are afraid of him." Another commentator declared: "In cases of incest, people say, 'They must be witches to do a thing like that.' I have heard several people who are accused of incest referred to as witches. They say, 'Even some witches wouldn't do that.' "

754 Public exposure and beatings are the mildest punishments
684 meted out to those discovered in incest. Just as often the extreme penalty is demanded.

If two persons committed incest and were found out, a crowd would gather, and any headman would say, "I know those two had intercourse together; get them!" Everyone considered them witches, and they were burned. Incest sometimes goes before a council of people and sometimes the parents kill them outright. Usually the parents handle them.

[586] If they are distant relatives and did not know they were related and find it out after they marry, they go apart. That has happened often, I have heard. But if they know it and everybody knows they are relatives and they marry anyway, in the old days they would kill both of them as witches. That's what N. used to tell us happened before there were white men and law.

539 A "love-death" story is told of a man who could not face the
835 wrath of his relatives after misconduct with his sister:
762 In the old days there were a brother and sister, children of the same parents, who had been lying together. The people were suspicious of them for a long time. The young man thought that the old people knew about them, although they really did not. He knew that if they were caught, a terrible punishment would come, so he took this way out.

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726 202 177 We used a mirror. Quivering a beam toward strangers and then casting out a long beam from you means, "Who are you?" The others reply, "A friend," by directing the beam toward themselves and then in a circle toward you. Flashing downward with the beam means, "Come." Flashing to the right means, "Go right," to the left means, "Go left."

726 821 One of the chief benefits of star lore, apparently, is to help raiders or warriors find their way about:

I can't tell you much about the stars. I never paid much attention to it. But you take a man like L.: he's been out at war many times. He has had to go by the stars. He knows all about them and what direction they are moving in.

726 805 211 Timekeeping devices are important to the warriors and to those awaiting their return:

Suppose you had promised someone to be somewhere in a certain number of days. You'd have to start at the right time to get there. So every morning you would throw a stone in a certain place and keep count of them. In this way you would know when to start. Or you might do it with marks on a stick. I have heard of doing it with beads on a string too. A few, maybe one or two out of the whole tribe, kept time by beads.

726 271 When a war or raiding party scatters, some individuals may lose their way, and they are likely to suffer from lack of water. Certain aids are therefore taught to everyone:

We are taught, when thirsty and without water, to put a dry stick or stone in the mouth. I have done it lots of times. It starts the saliva and helps you. We melt snow for water when we find some in the mountains. Different kinds of [824] cactus are used when we are in the flats. We chew the inner parts of the cactus for thirst. No matter how hot the weather is, that is always cool. Barrel cactus saved many people too. To get the water you knock the top off. There is water in there; it's like a watermelon. To get the water, you have to squeeze the pulp. And we get rain water from mescal. This plant holds water [in the basal leaves]. The animals get water from these. The deer and horses drink from them. In the south the big ones grow. To drink, the man uses a reed or something hollow if he has it and sucks it out.

726 291 [824] In emergencies, improvised footgear must sometimes be made. "When the Chiricahua were caught out on the raid or at war and their moccasins gave out, they took grass and tied it to their feet with two or three strips of yucca."

726 157 The warrior has little respect for a senseless sacrifice of life, but when he is brought to bay he is capable of furious resistance:

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When a Chiricahua is cornered and desperate and thinks the end has come, he tears off his shirt and headband. He tears off all his clothes but his loincloth, and he goes right into the thick of it. Sometimes he fights so hard that he gets away.

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The wounded constitute a major problem of war:

[752]

If anybody is wounded on the warpath, they try to bring him back. But it is often far, and they often die. If they get back, herbs will be used on the wounds, and the shaman will sing. . . . . Cures might be worked on the warpath if there was somebody along who knew how.

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Scalping and the taking of captives.—Scalping is a very recently acquired custom and one for which there is limited enthusiasm. A number of spokesmen flatly denied that scalping is a practice of their people:

The Chiricahua never scalp. They never bother with them. They don't like them. It looks as if it is against their religion.

I don't think scalping is the habit of the Chiricahua, for I have not seen many try it. It looks as though a few saw other Indians do it and tried it.

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Retaliation for atrocities visited upon them is the explanation most often given by those who admit that some scalps were taken. The Mexicans are frequently blamed for the development of this form of revenge:

The Mexicans used to take scalps. They started it first—before the Chiricahua. They used to take scalps, including the ears, and sometimes they took the whole head. The Chiricahua would make peace with the Mexicans. Then the Mexicans would give them liquor, get them drunk, take them in their houses, and cut off their heads. Then the war would start again.

Scalping is used as a last resort on a man who has made a great deal of trouble for the Chiricahua. Such a man, when finally caught, would be scalped and "danced on." He was scalped after he was dead. The whole scalp was taken off. In the dance the pole is in the center with the scalp on top, and they dance around it. The scalp is thrown away at the end of the dance. This is used mostly on Mexicans who did awful things against the Chiricahua.

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While the Mexicans were undoubtedly the special object of Chiricahua hatred during this period, the data indicate that the scalping of members of other groups did sometimes occur. But, in any case, scalping was never carried on extensively: